

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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INR-09 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9544

INFORUEKJCS/ SECDEF WASHDC

ALL NATO CAPITALS 2824

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 1567

E. O. 11652: GDS, 12-31-79

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: CSCE: PRINCIPLES GUIDING RELATIONS AMONG THE
PARTICIPANTS

HELSINKI FOR USDEL MPT

REF: USNATO 1471

SUMMARY. GENERAL TENOR OF COUNCIL' S MARCH 28 DISCUSSION OF
PRINCIPLES WAS THAT ALLIES SHOULD HOLD FIRM ON EXISTING MANDATE
DURING REMAINDER OF MPT-3 AND EXAMINE QUESTION OF POSSIBLE
FALLBACKS CAREFULLY DURING RECESS. ONLY FRENCH REP ARGUED
THAT TIME MIGHT BE RIPE NOW TO STRIKE COMPROMISE WITH
SOVIETS. AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD NOTED OUR WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT
SWISS LISTING OF PRINCIPLES AND STRESSED NEED TO AVOID
PREJUDICING CASE OF FUTURE DECLARATION. END SUMMARY.

1. OPENING DISCUSSION, ITALIAN PERMREP (CATALANO) REITERATED
ROME' S CONCERN (REFTEL) OVER IMPLICATIONS OF ALLIED
ACCEPTANCE OF SWISS LISTING OF PRINCIPLES. WHILE HE WAS NOT
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EXPLICIT, CATALANO IMPLIED THAT ITALY WOULD EVENTUALLY ACCEPT
SWISS LISTING BUT WAS NOT PREPARED TO TAKE THIS STEP NOW.

HE STRESSED NEED FOR ABSOLUTE ALLIED SOLIDARITY ON THIS POINT AND WARNED AGAINST PREMATURE MOVES BY ALLIED DELEGATIONS IN HELSINKI.

2. ITALIAN POSITION WAS STRONGLY SUPPORTED BY NETHERLANDS PERMREP (SPIERENBURG) WHO ALSO RAISED THE QUESTION OF HOW ALLIES SHOULD PROCEED IN MPT-4. HE ASKED WHETHER END OF JUNE DATE FOR CONVENING MINISTERIAL- LEVEL OF CSCE WAS " SACROSANCT." IF THIS WERE TRUE, HE ARGUED, ALLIES MUST EVENTUALLY GIVE IN ON POINTS SUCH AS INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS, AND HE CAUTIONED THAT ALLIES SHOULD NOT DELUDE THEMSELVES INTO THINKING THAT THEY COULD OBTAIN MORE AT CSCE ITSELF THAN THEY WERE ABLE TO OBTAIN AT MPT. MANDATES, HE SAID, WOULD ESTABLISH LIMIT OF POSSIBLE FOR THE ALLIES. BELGIAN PERMREP (DE STAERCKE) ALSO SUPPORTED ITALIAN POSITION AND STRESSED NEED TO AVOID ESTABLISHING REGIONAL EUROPEAN INTERNATIONAL LAW. HE WARNED AGAINST EASTERN EUROPEAN EFFORT TO USE BILATERAL DECLARATIONS, SUCH AS BELGIAN- SOVIET DECLARATION, WHICH ALLIES " IMPRUDENTLY SIGNED," AND INSISTED THAT ALLIES SHOULD REMAIN FIRM ON RESTRICTING SOURCES TO UN CHARTER AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS DECLARATION. PICKING UP POINT MADE BY SPIERENBURG AND DE STAERCKE, SYG LUNS OBSERVED THAT HELSINKI DELEGATIONS SEEMED, QUITE NATURALLY, ANXIOUS TO REACH AGREEMENT. ITALIAN POSITION WAS ALSO SUPPORTED BY CANADIAN, NORWEGIAN, TURKISH, AND LUXEMBOURG PERMREPS, ALTHOUGH LATTER OBSERVED THAT SOMETHING ALONG LINES OF SWISS LISTING OF PRINCIPLES WAS MOST ALLIES COULD HOPE TO OBTAIN EVENTUALLY.

3. FRENCH REP (CARRAUD) NOTED THAT PARIS HAD SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT VIEW OF QUESTION. WHILE AGREEING WITH OTHER ALLIES ON MATTERS OF SUBSTANCE, HE SAID THAT PARIS DID NOT BELIEVE FEARS EXPRESSED BY ITALIANS AND OTHERS WERE JUSTIFIED SINCE FRENCH DID NOT REGARD INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS AS MEANING " INTANGIBILITY OF FRONTIERS." HE ALSO ARGUED THAT INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS IMPLIED NON- USE OF FORCE, A POINT ON WHICH BELGIAN PERMREP EXPRESSED SOME SCEPTICISM. ON TACTICS, FRENCH REP ARGUED THAT TIME WAS NOT ON ALLIED SIDE AND THAT AGREEMENT MIGHT POSSIBLY BE REACHED NOW IN HELSINKI WHICH INCLUDED SWISS LISTING OF PRINCIPLES PRECEDED BY PREAMBLE

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CONTAINING REFERENCE TO UN CHARTER. HE NOTED IN THIS CONNECTION THAT SWISS LISTING OF PRINCIPLES INCLUDED RIGHTS OF MAN AND SELF- DETERMINATION. LATTER PRINCIPLE, HE SAID, HELPED TO PROTECT ALLIED POSITION ON INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS. FRENCH REP WARNED THAT IF ALLIES REMAINED INFLEXIBLE ON THIS POINT THEY WOULD RUN RISK OF MISSING CHANCE FOR ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE. NETHERLANDS, BELGIAN AND ITALIAN PERMREPS STRONGLY DISAGREED WITH FRENCH POSITION ON TACTICS AND INSISTED THAT ALLIES MUST REMAIN FIRM AT LEAST THROUGH END OFMPT-3.

CHANGING COURSE SOMEWHAT, FRENCH REP ARGUED THAT ALLIES SHOULD SEEK TO DETERMINE EXACTLY WHAT SOVIETS MEAN BY INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS AND MENTIONED THAT RUSSIAN WORD 'NERUSHIMOST' COULD BE INTERPRETED AS IMPLYING NON- USE OF FORCE. NETHERLANDS REP AGREED THAT THIS WAS LOGICAL COURSE FOR ALLIES TO FOLLOW BUT REITERATED HIS OPPOSITION TO COMPROMISE ON MANDATE AT THIS TIME.

4. FRG PERMREP (KRAPF) OBSERVED THAT SOVIET MPT REP MENDELEVICH HAD PROPOSED ROUGHLY SIMILAR PROCEDURE IN MARCH 27 CONVERSATION WITH AMBASSADOR BRUNNER. ACCORDING TO KRAPF, MENDELEVICH HAD SUGGESTED INTERESTED MPT REPS MEET MARCH 29 AND SEEK DEFINE " INVIOABILITY." MENDELEVICH SAID HE WOULD QUOTE AT THAT MEETING FROM PODGORNIY/ GROMYKO STATEMENTS DURING SUPREME SOVIET RATIFICATION OF MOSCOW TREATIES TO EFFECT THAT " INVIOABILITY" DID NOT PRECLUDE TREATIES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES CHANGING COMMON BORDERS. MENDELEVICH REPORTEDLY SAID HE WOULD MENTION IN THIS CONTEXT SOVIET- NORWEGIAN AND SOVIET- IRANAIN BORDER TREATIES AND THAT GDR REP WOULD MENTION RECENT PROPERTY EXCHANGES IN BERLIN AREA. ALTHOUGH RECALLING FRG VIEW THAT SWISS LISTING WAS ACCEPTABLE IF SEQUENCE OF PRINCIPLES AND SOURCES MENTIONED IN PREAMBLE WERE UNCHANGED, KRAPF SAID BONN HAD NO FIRM POSITION ON THIS POINT AND ADDED THAT BONN WAS CONSIDERING FRENCH VIEW THAT SOVIETS MIGHT BE MORE READY NOW FOR A COMPROMISE. HE CONCLUDED, HOWEVER, THAT MOST IMPORTANT POINT FOR BONN WAS MAINTENANCE OF ALLIED SOLIDARITY.

5. AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD RECALLED US POSITION THAT INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS SHOULD BE SUBORDINATE TO NON- USE OF FORCE AND NOTED THAT WHILE WE WERE PREPARED TO ACCEPT SWISS LISTING OF PRINCIPLES, WE RECOGNIZED POTENTIAL PROBLEMS THIS COULD CAUSE. ACCORDINGLY, AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD ARGUED THAT MOST IMPORTANT
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THING FOR ALLIES NOW WAS TO ENSURE THAT WHATEVER MANDATE WAS AGREED IN HELSINKI DID NOT PREJUDICE EVENTUAL AGREEMENT ON TYPE OF DECLARATION ALLIES SEEK. THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE SUPPORT FOR POSITION AS STATED BY AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD.

6. SUMMING UP DISCUSSION, SYG LUNS SAID HE DETECTED CONSENSUS FOR CAUTION AND " DILATORY" APPROACH IN HELSINKI. FRENCH REP DID NOT CONTEST LATTER POINT IN SYG' S SUMMING- UP, ALTHOUGH HE HAD MADE IT CLEAR PREVIOUSLY THAT PARIS DID NOT SHARE THIS VIEW.
RUMSFELD

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